

Message Text

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12

ACTION SS-25

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R 160720 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3147
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R UET TOKYO 4603

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR
SUBJ: BREZHNEV LETTER TO TANAKA AND INVITATION TO VISIT MOSCOW

REF: TOKYO 3742

SUMMARY: FONOFF RECOGNIZES BREZHNEV LETTER AS PART OF ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN TO OFFSET IMPROVEMENT IN JAPAN- CHINA RELATIONS. TANAKA PLANS TO VISIT MOSCOW, PROBABLY THIS YEAR. FONOFF PROBLEM IS HOW TO TURN VISIT TO JAPANESE ADVANTAGE. END SUMMARY

1. EMBOFF FOLLOWED UP INITIAL READOUT ON BREZHNEV LETTER TO TANAKA (REFTEL) WITH FONOFF FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIV HEAD ARAI AND ANALYSIS DIV HEAD DONOWAKI, WHO HAD FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS.

2. SOVIET OBJECTIVES - FONOFF SEES BREZHNEV LETTER AS CENTERPIECE OF ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN TO DIVERT ATTENTION OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE FROM CHINA TO SOVIET UNION, AT SAME TIME DRIVING WEDGE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN. USSR FREQUENTLY DEMONSTRATED CONCERN SINCE NORMALIZATION OF PRC- GOJ RELATIONS, AND ATTEMPTED TO ACCELERATE NEGOTIATIONS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIA. TANAKA LETTER TO BREZHNEV, INTENDED BY GOJ AS BALANCING GESTURE, INITIATED RAPID SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WHICH BROUGHT CONFLICTS CLEARLY INTO OPEN: ON MARCH 6 BREZHNEV RECEIVED AMB NIIZEKI, ON MARCH 7 PRC ANNOUNCED VISIT TO JAPAN OF LIAO AND SIZABLE DELEGATION, ON MARCH 11 LIAO TOLD YOMIURI CORRESPONDENTS THAT PRC OPPOSES JAPANESE ASSISTANCE IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT (REPORT APPEARED IN SECRET

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PRESS ON MARCH 12). SOVIETS PROMPTLY DENOUNCED PRC FOR MEDDLING AND BREZHNEV LETTER FOLLOWED SOON AFTER.

3. SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN - BREZHNEV LETTER AND INVITATION TO TANAKA TO VISIT MOSCOW HAVE, IN FONOFF VIEW, BEEN BUTTRESSED WITH OBVIOUS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN BOTH IN SOVIET PRESS AND IN JAPAN. AFTER SOVIETS HAD TIME TO STUDY TANAKA LETTER, PRESS BEGAN TO HAIL NEW WARMTH IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS, CLAIMING GOJ IS BECOMING MORE QTE REALISTIC UNQTE AND QTE FLEXIBLE UNQTE. AT SAME TIME, SOVIETS BEGAN PLAYING DOWN PROSPECTS FOR RETURN OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND DENOUNCED THOSE JAPANESE WHO PERSIST IN CREATING MINOR OBJECTIONS (SUCH AS RETURN OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES). SOVIET EMBASSY IN TOKYO HAS BEEN PRESSING DIET MEMBERS (INCLUDING LDP) TO URGE TANAKA TO VISIT MOSCOW SOON, WHILE AMB TROYANOVSKY HAS HELD OUT POSSIBLE MEETING WITH BREZHNEV AS BAIT FOR ANY IMPORTANT DIET MEMBER WHO WOULD VISIT MOSCOW TO QTE PREPARE FOR TANAKA VISIT UNQTE.

4. PROSPECTS FOR TANAKA VISIT TO MOSCOW - ARA SAID TANAKA HAS ACCEPTED INVITATION IN PRINCIPLE AND FONOFF IS NOW STUDYING MATTER OF TIMING. IN ARAI'S VIEW, VISIT COULD NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE AUGUST BUT HE DID NOT EXCLUDE VISIT LATER THIS YEAR. PROBLEM THEN ARISES OF WHAT CAN BE GAINED. ADVANTAGE OF VISIT. IN FONOFF VIEW, IS THAT JAPAN WOULD GAIN ACCESS FOR FIRST TIME TO MOST POWERFUL MAN IN USSR, AND AS COROLLARY MIGHT UNFREEZ NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE. MAJOR DISADVANTAGE IS THAT TANAKA MIGHT COME HOME WITHOUT HAVING ACHIEVED ANY SIGNIFICANT GAINS. DONOWAKI SPECULATES THAT TANAKA, FEELING OBLIGED TO VISIT MOSCOW TO ROUND OUT VISITS TO OTHER MAJOR CAPITALS, BELIEVES HE CAN AVOID PITFALLS BY STICKING TO ECONOMIC ISSUES AND REFUSING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON TERRITORIAL QUESTION.

5. IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF BREZHNEV LETTER HAVE BEEN MODEST, ACCORDING TO FONOFF. BREZHNEV SAID HE WOULD GET SOVIET AGENCIES TO MOVE AHEAD WITH SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, BUT IT IS TOO SOON TO TELL WHAT EFFECT THIS WILL HAVE. SOVIET NEGOTIATORS IN FISHING TALKS (UNDERWAY IN BOTH MOSCOW AND TOKYO) HAVE BEEN UNUSUALLY INTRANSIGENT, BUT FONOFF NOTES THAT THEIR NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS WERE DRAFTED SOME MONTHS AGO.

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6. COMMENT: WHILE FONOFF WORKING LEVEL IS OBVIOUSLY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT COUTCOME OF TANAKA VISIT TO MOSCOW, THEY TAKE IT AS FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT IT WILL OCCUR, AND PROBABLY WITHIN NEXT SIX MONTHS.
INGERSOLL

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